765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

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224 Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

[325] It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

796 224 village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

796 241 In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

796 241 539 "Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ beiẽ bereme u tiẽdiẽ imenediẽ diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽe taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenediẽ tutu utiẽ-die araiarai utẽcõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime eirũ berereme bate que mẽaipanhate uẽrẽ mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

648 797 The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
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It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *tʉ̃ʉ̃* and are embodied (verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mèsèri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kaduke* from above, is caught in a cüia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibê,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuwaut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibê is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i baríp*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *ihge uakat*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. --Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 756

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (source #3) says this was done by the children -- Anal(ist)]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analy.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. 535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then 224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer 224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. 786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred 796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev- 614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

[796] At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much [683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

[684] Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. [578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa- 773 kaibō (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

619 [196] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Mundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 [161] At present there are eighteen Mundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are next to useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Mundurucú village, states that the village of "Necodemus" (Dekodyem is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajóz River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

●[776] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Munduruc\u00fa 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Munduruc\u00fa life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

754 residents of the afflicted village who was the guilty party, but after the illness became serious he informed them and they took the decision as a group to kill the accused. His closer relatives were not informed of these plans, but they made no attempt to avenge his death in the face of the community imposed punishment. Most executions were carried out by the suspect's fellow villagers, but this was not invariably the case. Close relatives of persons supposedly bewitched could be suspected, but this was not generally the case, for the Mundurucú sorcerer is said to usually release his evil objects (caxhi) or jaguars against anyone that they may encounter. The only explanation for such generalized malice is that "the sorcerer is angry at everything."

Ceremonies

796 In addition to the ceremonies that centered around the trophy head, two ceremonies, both of which can be referred to as "Festival of the Cane," were devoted to the spirit "mothers" as a means of maintaining their good will and thus insuring better hunting. One of these, the Arairai, was held only every three to five years and only in one village at a time, as nearly the whole rainy season was consumed by the festivities. This ceremony was celebrated in a short form that lasted only ten days and which was known as the Dai'aruperip. It occurred almost yearly between the Arairais and shifted its location from village to village every year. Hundreds of visitors from villages all over

796 Mundurucania used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial imitations of the various beasts by the male participants. The imitation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the biushi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by biushi of the opposite moiety. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796 778 534 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and brought to the village in a similar after dark procession. One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
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534 the men who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

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775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulae that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

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562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
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562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

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562
535 lesser degree, for the men led the dance and played the instruments. This was a circle dance in which animals, birds, and fish were imitated and, although greatly enjoyed, had no religious significance.

[pp 70- end, not processed]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture.

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture.

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true.

Two different ceremonies, named *Araiarai* and *Dajearuparip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Araiarai* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Araiarai* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed. The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís" could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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dancers clothed in cloaks of buriti leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat.

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group.

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad.

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.[8] No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple-

[8] Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

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727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 [302] Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

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feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriši*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups.

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapõ*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back.

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

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796 727 554 834 [515] had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

796 727 With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head, the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all reunited for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorõm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darckši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

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it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *mõrí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[1] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaií*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[1] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

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796 727 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the rite, the *Dajeboiši* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life. [554]

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajeboiši* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Darekši;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 224 Two ceremonies, the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip,* were held in honor of the spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Araiarai,* except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat,* or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 224 292 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the beginning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

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buritĺ palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buritĺ leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buritĺ-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buritĺ leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisserossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buritĺ leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a buritĺ-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Araiarai* ceremony was identical, except that the buritĺ leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kiú*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiuba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parasoi*, but those for the *Dajearuparip* and *Araiarai* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kiú* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

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function was to guide the spirit mothers to the men's house, in the same manner that the coatá monkey, it is believed, leads game through the forest. Before the skulls were placed in order, they were washed with a fragrant solution made from the envira cherosa and then with *mõrí*, a sweet manioc gruel. *Mõrí* is thought to be especially pleasing to the spirit mothers, and a bowl was kept near the skulls so that the spirits could eat after answering the summons.

When all arrangements were in order, two men who knew the various songs dedicated to each type of animal sat in front of the array of skulls and sang for the spirit mothers. A number of shamans stood by, ready to shoot with magic arrows those *Yurupori* that inevitably came to steal the *mõrí*. A shaman also had to be present at all times to detect the arrival of the spirits. When the spirits arrived, the shamans blew smoke over all the heads and then inserted a bamboo tube into each head to suck the arrow points and buckshot from the spirits. These objects are believed to be lodged in the animal spirits because of the hunting activities of the Mundurucú, and it was necessary to extract them in order to completely placate the spirits. The spirits then ate the *mõrí* and departed.

Although the main purpose of the ceremony was the gratification of the animal spirits, the participants remained for three or four more days to take part in dances and ritual activities in imitation and honor of the game animals. On the day following the feeding of the spirits, all the men repaired to the banks of a stream and there sought out white clay. Two men were selected and "captured" by the others and white clay was smeared upon their foreheads, converting them for ceremonial purposes into coatá monkeys. The others adorned themselves as peccaries by applying white clay to their cheeks and jaws. They then paraded single file into the village, the two monkeys in front and the peccaries following in close order ranks, all making the noises characteristic of their species. Once in the village, the men invaded the houses; those who were simulating the peccaries grunted and poked at the ground with sticks to make peccary tracks, while those playing the parts of the monkeys upset articles in the house, robbed food, and created the general havoc characteristic of monkey behavior. The men then repaired to the men's house where they pretended to shoot the monkeys with bows and arrows. During this time the women sang songs about the peccary, and then, upon a signal from the leader of the ceremony, they rushed upon the men, who attempted to escape, and dragged those they captured to the fire "to singe the hair from their hides" as they would do with a slain peccary.

The next of the animal imitations was that of the tapir, which was the special function of a men's association known as the *Biaší*, or Mothers of the Tapir. The male participants painted each other elaborately with urucú and genipa paint, and the next day at dawn all the men retired to the forest where they built a temporary shelter. During the day the members of the *Biaší* pursued men of the opposite moiety, and those caught were then made members of the group. This practice served as a recruiting device, but it also reflected the Mundurucú pattern of intermoiety ritual antagonism, for membership was looked upon with some fear. The *Biaší* were especially subject to soul loss during the *Arasorai* and the

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Dajeorupurip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Biaŭ* little sleep during ceremonies.

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Biaŭ*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reëntered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Biaŭ* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant.[1] It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important to Mundurucú society, involve little social participation beyond the confines of one or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head.

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Piaubĭkwaĭkapasyes*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[1] received

[1] See page 27.

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knowledge of these supernaturally powerful songs through dreams. The ceremony takes place in the household of the sick person; a man, when ill, is usually brought from the men's house to his wife's dwelling, whatever the cause of the malady. The tapir skull used during the ceremonies of the game is installed in the house, and long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes are inserted into either eye and three are thrust into the ground on the left side of the skull. The "dreamers" then seat themselves before this ensemble and proceed to sing to the various game animals, requesting that they return the soul of the sick person. While singing they wave a mutum feather tied to the end of a stick before the skull.

It will be recalled that there is a definite sequence in the passage of the soul from one species to another, proceeding from large game animals to smaller ones and then from the largest fish to the smaller ones until the soul arrives at the smallest fish and the patient dies. The songs of the dreamers are believed to be completely efficacious in securing the return of the stolen soul, but the soul is returned only when the dreamers sing the song of the animal that possesses the soul at the moment the song is being sung. Since the shamans and dreamers have no idea which animal has the soul at the time, and since there are a large number of animals into whose hands the soul passes (and, correspondingly, a large number of songs), the dreamers must trust to chance and luck that they will sing the right song at the appropriate instant. The choice of song is up to the dreamers, and they frequently sing for a long time before hitting upon the animal that has custody of the soul. Obviously, a great deal of risk is involved in this process, for the passage of time brings the patient and his soul nearer to their fatal destination. And as the journey lengthens, the condition of the sick person steadily worsens.

However, the dreamers generally succeed eventually in retrieving the soul, which is believed to return to the tapir skull used in the ceremony. This account of the procedure following the return of the soul is based upon a curing ceremony that I witnessed in the savannah village of Cabruá. Both doors of the house in which the rite was held had been covered with palm leaves in the belief that the soul of the patient was ashamed to be seen and would return only in the dark. At the conclusion of the song to the peccary, the shaman looked inside the tapir skull and announced that the soul had been in the custody of the peccaries and had just been returned. Their intent accomplished, the singers ceased their activity and aided the shamans in the subsequent process of repairing the harm done to the patient and restoring the soul to her body.

One of the four shamans present extracted the soul from the tapir skull with his hand and held it for some time, examining it closely. In the meantime, the patient was lying in a hammock covered with mosquito netting, and two men, neither of whom was a shaman, blew smoke under the netting through long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes. At the conclusion of the fumigation the shaman returned the sick woman's soul to the tapir skull, and she was taken from her hammock and seated upon a mat. One of the women of the house poured several gourds of water over her in the belief that this would reduce her fever. The

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sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin.

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bisiú* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Kaschó

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karúkó*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karúkó* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size.

The *karúkó* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

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the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karōkō* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the gourd horn.

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karōkō* is accepted as a necessary part of the ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages.

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karōkō* in a new men's house took place in Cabitutú during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Decodyém. Decodyém declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabruá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

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The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karíkó, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

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During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in inter-moiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabiuté, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their ibeiwetöt. His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

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The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

*See pp. 89-91.

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that many new *karíkó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new men's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karíkó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1]

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wóra ɔnaxa*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wóra ɔnaxa bɔn*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karíkó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 129–134.

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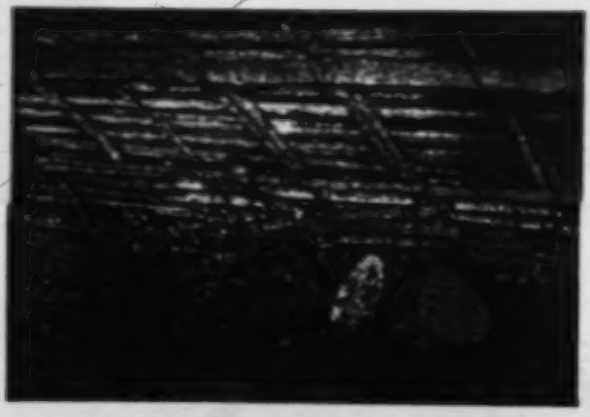

a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or karikó. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

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Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

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women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days, nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 360. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion. Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." [8] The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

[8] Durkheim, 1947.

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mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

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monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by

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182 628 796 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 439 648 The economic and social adjustments made by the Munduruc ú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

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THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any